

Mr. Leslie to the Lord Bishop of Sarum.

My Lord,

OUR Correspondence has been somewhat interrupted of late. I am in debt for your *Introduction* and *Sermon* upon the 31. of Oct. before George. It will be hard to put them together; for they are *sweet* and *bitter* out of the same Fountain. The former sets before us the reviving the fires in Smithfield, and from thence over the whole Nation. The Clergy being turn'd out of their *Living*s, or forc'd to abandon their *Wives*, &c. The *Abbey Lands* being resum'd, the *Inquisition* set up, and such a Scene of Cruelty and Barbarity, that you wonder at a set of Men so impiously corrupted in the Point of Religion, as not to be frighted at all this! Here your Business was to fright Folks. But in your *Sermon* we see quite another Spirit, for doing to all others, what we would have others do to us; loving all Mankind, not only Friends, but even Enemies, forbearing and forgiving them, and praying for them, pitying the miserable, and relieving the Poor according to their Necessities and our own abundance; instructing those that oppose themselves in a Spirit of Love, and overcoming Evil with Good; not returning even to those of the Church of Rome Persecution for Persecution, doing no Hardship to them, other than what is necessary to secure ourselves from falling into their Hands. We know both their Principles, and what their Practices have been, wheresoever they get Power over those they call *Hereticks*, against which it is but reasonable that we should be on our guard; and it is to be hop'd that Matters shall never be carried further against them, whatsoever we or our Brethren may have suffer'd at their Hands.

Thus your Lordship, and, as *Royal Interpreter*, we are bound to believe you speak the Mind of your Master, who has measures to keep with the *Papists*, upon other Interests and Views than those of *Great Britain*, and as he did in his own Country before he came thither, where he built Churches for them, and a Colledge even for the *Jesuits* at his own Palace in *Hanover*, while the *Reformed* are not suffer'd to have any Church within the City, or Publick Exercise of their Religion, no not while his Mother the Princess So-

phia liv'd, who was one of them, which sheweth that he preferr'd *Rome* to *Geneva*, for *Con* and *Trans-substantiation* are not so widely different.

And either may go down, if we must take that Account you give of our Improvements by the *Revolution*. If there is any Difference (say you) between the present state of things, and that we were in above Thirty Years ago, it is that we are now more naked and defenceless, more insensible and stupid, and much more depriv'd in all respects than we were then. We are sunk in our Learning, vitiated in Principle, tainted, some with *Atheism*, others with *Superstition*; both which, tho' by different ways, prepare us for *Po-pery*. So that the *Mitchief* of *Atheism* is leading us to *Po-pery*! These are strong Lines.

But, My Lord, may it not be worth your most serious Inquiry, how the *Revolution* brought this *Atheism* among us? For there is no effect without a cause. Give me leave then to suggest some of these Causes, and they shall be pretty apparent, for example.

1. So many of the *Low-Church* Clergy, following your Lordship's Steps, and Preaching backward against their former *Characteristick* Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, which they had for many Years before inculcated into the People more frequently, and with greater earnestness than any other Christian Doctrine, and none more than your Lordship, of which you have been told so often, that I spare repeating, only for the refreshment of your Memory, and to save you the trouble of looking over your voluminous Tracts, I have put a small Collection to this purpose out of your own Works, as an Appendix to the *Good Old Cause*, which was dedicated to your Lordship's Service.

Now what could those poor People think, who had taken their Religion upon the Authority of their Teachers, but that all the rest of the Christian Doctrines were as false as this, which they saw recanted, and as little believ'd by these Preachers themselves? And how far this might be a Snare to lead Men into *Atheism*, I leave your Lordship to judge.

2. The new Oathes impos'd in flat contradiction to those Lawful Oathes taken before, and administer'd in vain; for a Lawful Oath is not dissolv'd by any after Oath which is contrary to it; but the after Oath is sinful. And no Oath can discharge a Man from his Duty to God and his Laws; for a Man cannot oblige himself to sin. Therefore it is a Rule agreed upon by all, that an *unlawful Oath* binds to nothing

thing but Repentance, and it would be a Sin to keep it, as it was in *Herod*, who for his *Oaths* sake beheaded *John the Baptist*.

I believe there are none, even of common Swearers, who would take solemn *Oaths* for nothing. Therefore the new *Oaths* were made a Qualification for Places of Profit and Power. But there is no stop in Wickedness. At last came the *Abjuration*! And because they knew it would go terribly against the Grain with very many, *Dr. Stillingfleet* Bishop of *Worcester*, and others of the complying Divines having wrote against it, while it was in forming, and generally all of them having express'd their utmost detestation of it; and having seen by the Example of the most worthy Archbishop of *Canterbury* *Dr. Sancroft*, and near half the Bishops at the *Revolution*, with several Hundreds of the Inferior Clergy, and many of the Laity, Men of Quality and Honour, who chose rather to quit their *Places*, than burden their Conscience, therefore they put a Clause in the *Abjuration*, obliging every Man that took it to swear that he did it willingly and freely, and since losing their *Places* would not persuade Men, they made the Penalty of refusing it a *Premunire*, which is stripping Men of all they have in the World, divesting them of all Property in any thing, even to the Cloaths upon their Backs, or a bit of Meat if any should give it them, and Imprisonment for Life in this Condition, and that none might elcape, any Two *Justices of the Peace* were empower'd to tender this *Oath* to whom they pleas'd, Man or Woman, above the Age of Sixteen, and the Refusal to be *Premunire*. I know it was said, that this was only in *Terrorem*, and was never put in Execution to this Day, like the sanguinary Laws against the *Papists* in *Q. Elizabeth's* time, by which none of them suffer'd from that time to this, except Two or Three in the *Whig* Fury of the *Popish Plot*. We see then what it is to have the Execution of the Laws put into *Whig* Hands, who have now issued a *Proclamation* signed *George R.* to revive these *Laws*, and commanding them to be put in Execution to the utmost extremity; having first purg'd the *Commissions* of the *Peace* throughout the Kingdom of all who are suspected of Moderation, or any Favour towards the *Church*. And in the Hands of these *Justices* it is now put to exterminate all tender Consciences in *England* above Sixteen Years of Age. And they are requir'd to give an Account of their Proceeding herein to *K. George* and his Council, that every one may go before another in shewing their Zeal to their new *K.* since they know what will please him.

But if the Reason given in this Proclamation for this unexampled Severity be true, viz. That these Men have rais'd that general Disgust which has appear'd throughout the Nation against their new Redeemer, I say if this be true, it may have a quite different effect from what he proposes; for if these Men have such an universal Possession of the Affections of the People every where, it is likely the People of *England* will not be better pleas'd to see their best Friends so cruelly *Persecuted*, and all devoted to Destruction. They did not use to be so gain'd. Was this for being disappointed of that draught of Blood expected at *Bristol* and other Places? Most Governments begin with Acts of Clemency; but here the Word is Blood and Desolation, and, *They who love not my Government shall feel it.* The Lord rebuke this Spirit of Persecution that is gone forth, and make a way for these poor People to escape, whom he has already devour'd in his Intentions. Was your Sermon of *Moderation* and *Christian Charity* meant as a Prelude to this? Will not Men say? When the Fox begins to Preach —

But now, My Lord, let me speak to your Conscience in the Presence of the Great GOD before whom You and I by the course of Nature must soon give an Account. You have Sworn that He who now takes the Stile of *James III.* has no manner of Right whatsoever to the Crown. There are several sorts of Right according to the Constitution of different Countries; the *Emperor* and King of *Poland* have the Right of *Election*; but in *Hereditary* Governments the Right is in *Proximity of Blood*. And you cannot say that *James III.* has not this Right, unless you were sure that he was not Born of the Queen, so sure as to take your Oath of it. Nay, My Lord, I must tell you that you are sure of the contrary, by what you yourself deliver'd so convincingly in your Thanksgiving Sermon at *Salisbury*, viz. *That by the Law of God, and the whole Earth, a Child own'd by both Parents, is to be taken as such, unless evident proof be made to the contrary.* Therefore you said, that you laid no stress upon the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, but that there was an *Act of Parliament* against him, and so you go wholly upon what you call *Parliamentary Right*. Whether you have that truly or not, or if you had, whether it would supersede his *Hereditary Rights*, we shall see presently; but in the mean time you allow he has the *Hereditary Right*, how then can you Swear that he has no manner of Right whatsoever? For this was put into the Oath of *Abjuration* to bar all sorts of Right of one kind or other.

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And now for your *Parliamentary Right*, if the Prince of Orange was no *Legal King*, then that *Parliament* was no *Legal Parliament*. And when you can make out the *Legality* of that *Convention* which made him *King*, and their *Right* to dispose of the *Crown*; I dare engage for *James III.* (I know his *Justice* so well) that he will be no more a *Pretender*, or give you further trouble. But he thinks he has the *Hereditary Right* which you likewise own, and have *Abjur'd*!

And all the Pretence now is *Religion*. But, My Lord, let us be in earnest in this Matter, does your Lordship really believe that *Dominion* is founded in *Grace*? Did *Christ* and his *Apostles* command Obedience to Heathen Governors, and that for *Conscience* sake, as being the *Ordinance of God*, and will you exclude your *Lawful King* because he is a *Christian* of a different Denomination? But why is this made an *Objection* against him more than against his *Father*? It was reckon'd no *Bar* against his *Succeſſion*. There was an *Experiment* indeed made by the *Bill of Exclusion*, but it was rejected in *Parliament*, as being contrary to the *Laws*, and a total *Subverſion* of the *Constitution*. This determin'd the Matter, so that there was not the least scruple made upon his *Accession*, no not by any Man in *Britain*. Neither did the Prince of Orange or his *Convention*, even when they were resolv'd to *abdicate* the *King*, object his *Religion* as any incapacity in him to hold the *Crown*. What then has alter'd the *Case* as to his *Son*? Was it a greater Crime in him to be driven, when an *Infant*, into a *Papish* Country to be educated there, than in his *Father* to quit the *Communion* of the *Church of England*, wherein he had been educated, and to embrace that of *Rome*, which the *Church* calls *Apostacy*, and is made *Treason* by the *Law*? 13. *Eliz.* Or will you lay upon him the *Male-Administrations* charg'd upon his *Father* before he was born? Your Cause is naked indeed, when you cannot name any one Reason for your excluding this *Prince*, the most accomplish'd of his Age in *Europe*, unless it be for that Reason, and that *the worse Title the better King*.

But if *Religion* is the only *Objection* against him, why have you excluded him, tho' He should become a *Protestant*? Do you think there cannot be a true *Convert* from *Papery*? Then surely the *Truth* must be on that side. And you must begin your *History of the Reformation* again, and you may make it much shorter, and tell the *World*, That the whole of the Matter is, these *Reformers* were all a parcel of *Hypocrites* and meer *Papists* in their *Hearts*, for were they not so bred?

But tho' the Prince you Persecute was bred a *Papist*, yet I can tell you, My Lord, he is no *Bigot*, he is not the *deaf Adder*, you so respectfully mention, he will not refuse in *due time and place*, to hear what you have to say upon the point of *Religion*, this he has promis'd, and sent it under his own hand where you might have seen it, I doubt not you have heard of it? But what opportunity has been offer'd him, where with Safety and Honour he might do this? What Arguments have you offer'd, except the *Baculum*, to rob him of his undoubted *Right and Inheritance*; to attain him, and set a Price upon his head, much greater than that for which our *Saviour* was betray'd? And all this without any Crime or Offence given by him! Such *Innocence* was never so Persecuted, so Oppress'd, except only in the Case of our *Blessed Lord*. He may say, as to the World, *Which of you convinceth me of Sin?* But notwithstanding his wicked Citizens hated him, and sent a Message after him, when he was gone into a far Country, saying, *we will not have this Man to Reign over us*. And why? *Because he is the Heir, therefore let us kill him, and the Inheritance shall be ours*, that is, the *People's*, to pull down and set up *Kings* at their Pleasure, without being oblig'd to give any other Reason but, *We are they that ought to speak, who is Lord over us?*

And now do you wonder at the Increase of *Atheism* since the *Revolution*? And the *Superstition* which you joyn with it, is of those unreasonable Men, who desire not to remove the Antient Land-marks, but to keep within the *Laws* and the *Constitution* which they receiv'd from their Fathers, and injoyn'd by their Authority upon their Posterities, who have further bound themselves by their own *Oathes*. Who think not the *Voice* of the *People*, that is of every prevailing *Party*, to be the *Voice* of *God*, for that it was the *Voices* of the *People* which prevail'd to prefer a *Murderer* to their *Saviour*, and therefore they dare not trust to it in excluding their Lawful *King*. These *Rechabites* who have respect to their Fathers, to their *Laws* and the *Constitution* left by them, and cannot give in to every *Revolution*, which overturns the Old *Foundations*, these are the *Superstitious* who stand in your Lordship's way, and who by their Stiffness in this, are, you say, leading us to *Popery*?

But to what Part of *Popery*? Is it to the *deposing* Doctrine? Which Power Dr. Burnet late *Professor of Divinity* at *Glasgow* thinks better trusted in the Hands of the *Pope* than of the *People*. Read his Words in his *Vindication of the Church and State of Scotland*, printed at *Glasgow*, 1673. where p. 68. 69. he

he says, *Less Disorder may be apprehended from the Pretensions of the Roman Bishops, than from those Maxims that put the Power of judging and controuling the Magistrate in the People's Hands, which opens a door to endless Confusions, and indeed sets every private Person upon the Throne; and introduceth an Anarchy which will never admit of Order or Remedy: Whereas those who have but one Pretender over them could more easily deal with him, and more vigorously resist him.* Nay he makes the Power of the People too a *Popish Doctrine*, as he says in his excellent Sermon upon the 30. of January, 1680. -- 81. p. 15. thus, *The resolving all Power in the People was first taken up by the Assertors of the Pope's deposing Power, for they argu'd, that if it belong'd to the People, then the Pope representing the Universal Church, all their Right did accrue to him, so that in their Names, he was to dispose of Crowns as he pleas'd.* I am not concern'd to reconcile the Bishop and the Doctor. But here the Revolution is made to be intirely *Popish*, unless railing at the Word *Popery*, and embracing it's Principles, may be call'd a *Reformation*!

Do not you charge the *Papists* with the Principle to do every thing for the good of *Mother Church*, which otherwise it would not be Lawful to do; to lie, swear, and forswear, to cheat, equivocate, murder and rebell, and ruin whole Nations, to betray Father and Mother, or any thing more monstrous, all is sanctified by the good end propos'd, to advance Religion! And is not this a brief History of the Revolution? Is it strange then that *Atheism* should come in with it? Name any one Wickedness the *Papists* are charg'd with to have acted for their Church, and can you say that the like has not been done in this Revolution on pretence of preserving the *Protestant Religion*? And if common Truth and Honesty is not to be found in any Church, is not this the High-way to *Atheism*? And you call those *superstitious* and of *slavish narrow Spirits*, who boggle at any of these things, to carry on the good old Cause! Will you ever again call the *Holy League* in France a *Rebellion*, or the *solemn League and Covenant*? For both pretended the Purity of Religion! To believe no God, or to live loosely and dissolutely, as if there were none, is not half so monstrous, nor has those Aggravations, as to father all our Wickedness upon God, and sanctify it with the Name of Religion! A meek Murder! A Godly Rebellion! Saying Grace to a Rape! And begging a Blessing upon Perjury and Hypocrisy! Such, My Lord, is the *Pathetical Part* at the end of your Sermon, of loving even Enemies, returning no Injury, but overcoming evil with good, &c. If you make not
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out the *Justice* and *Legality* of the *Revolution* for which you plead.

And you give no other Reason for it, but the strange *Providences* which attended it; as the changing of the *Wind*, &c. To favour your Designs, that the Prince of *Orange*, no nor the Elector of *Brunswick* neither, was drown'd going into *England*, and the like, which make up the bulk of your Sermon, and is a *Diary* of these sorts of wonderful *Providences*. But there never was a prosperous *Wickedness* which had not many of these *Providences* to reckon, else it had not been *Prosperous*. This was the constant Theme of the 41 *Whigs*, every Victory over the King was a sure Demonstration that they Fought the *Lord's* Battles, and that theirs was his own *Cause*! Will your Lordship say, that *Success* always attends *Justice* in this World? This would give *Mahometism* the better of *Christianity*. Why then did you entertain your new King with such wretched Stuff? But he did not understand you. And they who did, knew that there was nothing better to be said for the *Revolution*, or his Title to the *Crown*. If you had had any better, I suppose you would have given it him.

Think not, My Lord, that I deny *Providence* here. No, far from it, I believe a Sparrow does not fall to the ground without the *Providence* of God. And no Man who has taken an Account of his own Life, but must have observ'd many *Providences* relating to his particular concerns, of which he ought to take notice, and be thankful for the Mercies receiv'd. But this is no Proof to other Men, and God has not founded Government (wherein all are concern'd) upon such Observations as these, but fix'd it upon positive *Rules* and *Precepts*, which are obligatory to all; and these *Precepts* are not to be over-rul'd by *Providences*, which Men often mistake and apply them to the very contrary of that for which they were intended. How many times has the general Dissatisfaction taken against the late King *James*, and the Unanimity with which the Prince of *Orange* was receiv'd as a Deliverer, and the seeming earnest concern for the Succession of the House of *Hanover*, that it must be brought in to every *Address*, tho' by Head and Tail, I say, how has this been urg'd as such a *Providence* of God, that no doubt could be made but that he was well pleas'd with the *Revolution*, and with this *Succession*? But now see another *Providence*, that as soon as this long desir'd House came into *England*, even upon the bloody *Coronation Day*, such a general Disgust and Contempt of the new King appear'd all over the Nation, that History perhaps,

perhaps, cannot afford such another Instance. And whether the Method of Severity now taken, and most agreeable to the Despotick Government he has us'd in his own Country, will mend or mar the Matter, time must shew. Suppose now, My Lord, one should improve this into a *Providence* that God has turn'd the Hearts of the People back again to their Old *Constitution* and *Royal Family*; having at last seen how grossly they have been impos'd upon, their Sin being pointed out by Providence in their Punishment; for there is not so notorious an Instance any where to be found as that which has been chosen, to bring to our Minds the Impious Slanders upon the most Virtuous *Queen*, and the pretended Suspensions of the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales* James the III. There is another *Providence* which has brought the *Hanoverian Tories* to their Senses again, who promis'd themselves all Security to the *Church* in that Succession, and that her Friends would be chiefly employ'd in the Administration. And the new King has Reason to blame his Credulity in believing the *Whigs*, that they were the weight of the Nation, and that they had render'd the *Church* so contemptible, that no Danger was to be apprehended from that side. But the Resentment of the People has shew'd it self more openly and universally than in the time of the late King *James*, before the Prince of *Orange* landed with an Army to set them on work: But they act now like Men in Despair, fearless of Danger, giving all for lost, and if they cannot rescue the *Church*, resolv'd to perish with her. And this at a time, when it is reckon'd Crime enough to turn any Man out, even of the Army, who is suspected to have kind wishes towards her, or that he was employ'd by the late *Queen* who was a Nursing Mother to her, for which an Inquisition is now set up at *White-Hall*. And the *Dutch* Gazetts call the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, your Lordship and others joyn'd with him, *Presbyterian Prelates*. We may take sure Indexes from these who are their best Allies. In short, as to the *Church* of *England*, *omnia pessum eunt*, She is declar'd an Enemy, when all are counted such who are Friends to her, and for that Reason. And it is too late to mend, the Fault is committed, the Hearts of the People are lost to King *George*, and he must stand and fall with the *Whig* Interest, which he has espous'd. And when he finds, as find he must, that they are an inconsiderable, tho' Noisie Part of the Nation, and will not be able to support him, and he far

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from home, it is enough to turn his Head, it would make a Man *mad* to see himself so wheedl'd, so betray'd, that instead of a *King* he already is become the *Jest*, the *Contempt* and *Aversion* of the Nation. While they have in their Eye a Native of their own, with Heart entirely *English*, who only has the Right, and against whom there is no Objection can be put by any reasonable Man. And he only can restore their *Constitution* and their *Laws*, and give *Peace* and *Security* to *Britain*, I may say to *Europe*. And I would desire no more on his behalf, than that the worst of his *Enemies* should see and converse with him.

Pray, My Lord, let me ask you one Question, did you really believe this *Prince* to be born of the *Queen*, when you officiated in the Chappel Royal of the Princess at the *Hague*, and pray'd for him as Prince of *Wales* in the Solemn Offices of the Church? If you did, what new Discoveries had you upon the Water, in crossing the Ferry from thence to *Exeter*, where you forbid his being mention'd in the publick Prayers? Did the Prince of *Orange* believe it when he sent *Myn Heer Zulestin* to *England* to congratulate his Birth? But if neither of you did believe it all this while, what a Scene of *Hypocrisy* and *Villany* was here acted? Not only to deceive the World, but to mock *God*, in offering Solemn Prayers to him for what you thought an *Impostor*, and where the Words of your Mouth and the Thoughts of your Heart were in direct Opposition to each other, when the one said *bleß*, the other meant *curse*! With what Face then could you so gravely reprehend those of the Clergy whom you suppos'd to pray one way, and look another? This is in your primed *Speech* before the House of Lords, and there you charge this as one main Cause of the *Impiety* and *Infidelity* (say you) now spread throughout the Nation. But who led the way? Who did it first? And who now complains of *Revolution Atheism*? And I will tell you, My Lord, that Air of *Meekness* and *Piety*, which you put on in doing this, makes the *Spectre* Ten fold more deform'd. Nothing will bear the weight of those Solemn Words you take into your Mouth upon these occasions, but evident *Truth*, built upon sure and solid *Principles*. Therefore, My Lord, not only for your own Vindication, but in Charity to many others, of which Number I am one, who desire Information, you are oblig'd to prove this *Position*, which is the point at present, *Viz*

That

That a King may be justly excluded from his Throne on Account of Religion.

This must be prov'd from the *Laws of Christ*, and the municipal *Laws of Britain*, to satisfy the Conscience of the Subjects. And when you have done this, you will greatly deserve of the Publick, of many deceiv'd Persons, and of me in particular.

I give your Lordship Caution that in your Discussion of this Point, you give no Offence to your Brethren the *Presbyterians*, who have declar'd in their *Confession of Faith*, C. 23. concerning the *Civil Magistrate*, That Difference in Religion, even *Infidelity*, does not take away the *Right* of the *Magistrate*.

But if your Lordship will not maintain the *Position* (as I am apt to believe you will not) then it remains that you assign some other Cause for excluding this Prince from his *Inheritance*. And if you can assign no other Cause, then you must confess that the Injustice done to him is apparent.

Suppose a Prince should by Violence and contrary to Law take away the Right, and Inheritance of his Subjects on Account of *Religion*, would it not be thought Tyranny and Oppression in him? And, is it nothing in Subjects to take away the Right and Inheritance of their King upon the same Account? Is the Law a Rule to the King, and none to the Subjects? Has every body *Liberty* and *Property*, and a Right of *Inheritance* but the King? All the Lands in *Britain* are held of the Crown and forfeitable to it, as the only Fountain of *Property*: And can he who gives Right to others, have none himself? Cannot the King take away the Right of the Subject, but according to Law? And can the Subject dispose of the Crown it self contrary to all *Laws*? The Law says *the King can do no wrong*, but is this true only of the Subjects, that they can do no wrong to their King? Your Lordship heard the late Duke of *Leeds* upon the Trial of Dr. *Sacheverel* declare in the House of Lords, that the *Revolution* was *Resistance* and *Rebellion*, and that if they had not succeeded, every Man concern'd in it, and himself with the rest, had forfeited Life and Estate by the Law, and he appeal'd to the Judges

there present. And can the *Law* justify the *Revolution*, and condemn it? Yes,

*As when the Sea breaks o're it's bounds,
And overflows the Level Grounds ;
Those Banks and Damms that like a Skreen,
Did keep it out, now keep it in :
So when Tyrannical Usurpation
Invades the Freedom of a Nation,
The Laws of the Land that were intended
To keep it out, are made defend it.*

And is not this a Total Subversion of the *Constitution*? Which your Lordship gives as the only Case wherein Subjects may rebel, and whereby you justify the *Revolution* against the late King *James*.

But suppose he had *abdicated* as you would have it, that is, *voluntarily* and *freely* relinquish'd the Government, this would have made no *Vacancy* in the *Throne*, for by the *Law* and the *Constitution* the next Heir had immediately succeeded. There can be no *Inter-Regnum* in an *Hereditary Monarchy*, where the *King* never dies. But from the time that the *Convention* voted the *Throne* to be *vacant*, till they fill'd it with the Prince of *Orange*, you will not say but there was a plain *Inter-Regnum*, which was a total *Subversion* of the *Constitution*: And so they understood it, for they thought not themselves bound by any *Law*, they enquir'd not for the next Heir, nor who he was, but as being again resolv'd into what they call the *Original and Independent State of Nature*, they imagin'd themselves at *Liberty* to set up what Sort of Government they pleas'd, and I believe your Lordship will not deny that they might have turn'd *England* into a *Common-wealth*, (as their Predecessors did in 1649, and said in the *Act* they made for it, that it was no Breach of the *Constitution*) they might have set up an *Aristocracy*, *Democracy*, or what they would, or fill'd the *Throne* with any of themselves, with any *Turk*, *Saracen*, or *Jew*, as well as with the Prince of *Orange*, and the one would have been no more a Breach of the *Constitution* than the other. Would it not be a *Total Subversion* of the *Constitution* of Heaven and Earth as they stand

stand at present, if they were reduc'd again to their Original Chaos? The Chaos in the Case of Government is that senseless Notion, and contrary to the History of the Creation in *Genesis*, of an *Independant State of Nature*, and the *Original Contract* suppos'd to be made by the *People* upon their first Election of Government. This is the Foundation of the pretended Power of the *People* over their *Governors*, and to alter and change *Governments*, for their own Advantage. And this is the whole Authority of the *Convention*, who pleaded this *Original Contract*, which they said the late King *James* had broken. It is a Pity they did not produce it! But I heard one say, that that Tory Rogue Dr. *Brady* stole it, when he was Keeper of the *Records* in the *Tower*. From which he has prov'd, that our now *Constitution* of the *House of Commons* in *Parliament* was not known in *England* till the 49. of *Hen. 3.* But bringing us back to the suppos'd *State of Nature*, and Power of the *People*, and *Original Contract*, is a total Subversion of all after *Constitutions*, and leaves us in the same *Freedom* they suppose *Mankind* was at first, to cook and order Government as they think fit, without any previous *Obligations* upon them.

Now I leave it to your Lordship, who is much vers'd in *Manuscripts*, to find out whether *Religion*, and what *Religion* was made a Condition of Government in the *Original Contract*, for you will find it no where else :

I know your Lordship loves to look abroad in the World, to consider the State of things, and the general Sentiments of *Mankind*, and blame those who confine their Thoughts to a little *Party Strife* in a corner of *Europe*. I am told that the Great *Mogul* is a *Mahometan*, but the Generality of his Subjects are *Gentiles*. That the greatest Number of the Subjects in *Turky* are *Christians*. That the King of *Prussia* is a *Calvinist*, but his Dominions generally *Lutheran*. The Duke of *Saxony*, now King of *Poland*, is a Convert *Papist*, but the Country of *Saxony* is *Protestant*, as is the *Palatinate*, tho' the Elector is a *Papist*. And a great, if not the greatest Part of the Subjects of the *States General*, especially since their new Acquisitions, are *Papists*.

Now,

Now, My Lord, if *Religion* be a Bar to *Government*, what a Confusion will this bring into the World? What *Government*, or what *Subjects* will be safe? And you see this is not the common Sentiment of Mankind.

I think this Point need not be labour'd any further. But tho' it is plain by the Laws of God, and of the whole Earth, and particularly of *Great Britain*, that the Religion of King *James III.* is no Bar to his Right of *Government*, yet it may not be unacceptable to your Lordship, to let you know what he has done already for the Security of the *Church of England*. In his instructions bearing Date *March 3. 1701--2.* under his Hand and Signet Royal (and I can take my Oath I saw him sign it, for I desir'd it) he gives up the *Regale* (of which your Lordship has wrote an Excellent *History*, shewing it to have been the great Corruption of the *Church*) as to the Nomination of *Bishops*, *Deans*, and all other *Ecclesiastical Preferments* in the Gift of the *Crown*. That the *Archbishop of Canterbury* for the time being, and Four other *Bishops* to be appointed, shall upon each Vacancy name *Three* Persons to his Majesty, of which Number he shall take one. And that the *Church of England*, by Law establish'd, shall be continued in the sole Possession of all her *Churches*, *Universities*, and even *Schools*. And moreover, as a particular Mark of his Favour and Bounty to her, he remitted the *Tenths* and *First fruits* payable by the *Bishops* and *Clergy* to the *Crown*. Which his Sister knowing, she did it afterwards, and receiv'd *Addresses* of Thanks for it from all Parts of the Nation, which indeed were justly due to him, who had done it before She came to the *Crown*. If you say, he was under Age, you see at least what the Queen his Mother, who then had the Government of him, was willing he should do in favour of the *Church of England*. But he has since confirm'd these same *Instructions*, and promis'd to make them good in his Letter bearing Date the 2d of *May 1711.* wrote all with his own Hand, and now lying in *London*, which your Lordship may see and have the Copies of, if you desire it.

And he has done all this the more willingly, and will do every thing else that can be devis'd for the Security of the *Church of England*, because he is well satisfied of her Principles as to *Government*, and that if he were upon the
Throne,

Throne, she must be his chief Support under Heaven, as her Security lies in preserving the Monarchy according to the Constitution, which her own Experience has made good, for as he well expresses it in that Letter, *The Crown was never struck at, but She also felt the Blow*. And as this is their joint Interest, so your Lordship is sensible that it would be no ways in his Power to renew the *Marian* Persecution, when the Reformation was but Young, and the Popish Interest so much Superior in *England*: But to attempt it now when that Interest is sunk, at Mercy, and under Sanguinary Laws, would be Madness, and end in nothing but their utter Extirpation, and the Danger is more on their side than on ours. Therefore the *Raw-Head* and *Bloody Bones* of Queen *Mary's* Reign, which you set forth with so much furious Rhetorick, can fright none but Children. But there is a Power now growing strong, which has made *Root and Branch* work with the *Church of England* long since Queen *Mary's* time, and if your Lordship's Concern had been for the *Church*, you would have given her some notice of her Enemies on that side, who have shed more of her Blood, a Thousand times told, than ever Queen *Mary* did, and much more even upon Scaffolds of the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry. To divert us from this, you amuse us with Danger from those in whose Power it is not to hurt us, and the least attempt of it would be Ruin to themselves. But, My Lord, the People of *England* have seen this, and shewn their Resolution not to suffer the Church to be worried over again by the same Hands. And you may as well stop the Tyde at *Gravesend* with your Thumb, as oppose the Torrent of the *Inclinations* of the People, now their Eyes are open'd. Your House is on Fire, and it breaks out in several Parts; and if your Severities (the only way left, for they will be wheedl'd no more) shall force the People to their own Defence, you may accompany your King back again to *Hanover*, if you get leave — My Lord, it is the best Advice you can give him, before the Storm grow too high. And no Subject is more concern'd in this than your Lordship. He sees he has not the Hearts of the People, and that it was a *Faction* only call'd him in, contrary to the Bent and Disposition of the Nation. What then can he expect but a Crown of Thorns, a miserable Life, and perhaps a fatal End? He may now retreat with Honour and doing Justice to the Injur'd, he may make himself a Blessing to *Britain*,
by

by restoring her to her *Constitution*, Peace and Settlement; and secure the Friendship of a Prince in whose Power it may be to retain Good or Evil Offices. Persuade him to begin with giving the Queen her Jointure, which is strictly due by Law, and cannot be detain'd but by manifest Injustice. Lay before him the Sin of oppressing the *Fatherless* and *Widow*, and repeat out of your Sermon, *Pitying the Miserable, and relieving the Poor according to their Necessities, and our own Abundance*. And much more giving them what is their due; doing to all others what we would have others do to us. This is an Eternal Rule by which you and he, and all will be judg'd. Believe you this? Then remember that the Case of *James III.* is many ways different from that of *James II.* You having nothing against this Prince but what would Unhinge the World, that is, to exclude Kings for their *Religion*, and is a Principle you dare not stand by. You told the late King *James* (as you say in your Speech before the House of Lords) that he was not to trust to your Principle of *Passive Obedience*, for you had a *Distinction* in your Sleeve. Have you a *Distinction* ready for this Principle too, of making *Religion* a Bar to Government? This would dissolve all Governments where the *Sovereigns* and the *Subjects* are of different Sentiments in *Religion*. Will you say, except *Great Britain*? Or except *Papery*? I doubt you will find among them the best Friends you have as to this Principle. I know no other *Galileans* who make Religion a Bar to Government.

I believe your Lordship remembers very well the *Expedient* which King *Charles II.* propos'd in lieu of the *Bill of Exclusion*, of *Limitations* upon a *Popish Successor*. Here is one who has voluntarily *Limited* himself (as aforesaid) and will pass the same into a *Law*, if the *Parliament* desires it, or any other they can devise for the Security of their *Church* and *Religion*, because he is fully determin'd to attack neither, as thinking them his own greatest Security, for the Reasons told above. If you say that *Limitations* are no Security against a Prince upon the Throne, you should add, with an *Amy* of his own, who are not *Britains*, and a *Dutch Alliance*, with an *Arbitrary Disposition*. Interpret not this, I pray you, to your new Master, lest he make short work with the *Limitations* put upon him, wherein you think your selves so secure. And would you not be more safe under your own natural King, who as he has it not in his

his Disposition, so would it be no ways in his Power to break through the *Laws*, and set up for *Arbitrary*. Do you believe he would attempt to bring in *Popery* with a *Protestant Army*? And he could have none other. If the *Expedient* had been accepted instead of the *Exclusion*, the *Ministers* of the late King *James* could have had no Handle, Pretence, or Power to have set forward those Steps which prov'd so fatal to Himself and his People: But the fury of the *Whigs* at that time, thinking their Game sure, would have nothing less than the *Exclusion*, they would not stoop to *Limitations*, and so they lost both, and have been the Cause of all the Miseries which have followed. Imitate not the Pride and Hardness of their Hearts, lest a worse thing befall you. Remember the Parable of *Jotham*, that God sent an Evil Spirit between *Abimelech* and the Men of *Shechem*, and the House of *Millo* (which was their Senate-House) and made Fire come out of the one to devour the other. Now therefore if ye have dealt truly and sincerely with the House of the *Stuarts*, a Race of Mild and Gentle Princes, under whom ye liv'd Rich and Happy, the Envy of all Nations, except when the *Whigs* disturb'd you with their Rebellions, and under the last of whom that sat upon the Throne, your Victories extended further than ever before, and made *Great Britain* uncontestably the Umpire of *Europe*: And She had done greater things than these, had not the Sins of the Nation hasten'd her Death, for which the *Whigs* triumph, and all honest Men Lament: And there is but one more of that Royal Name left (who have sway'd the Scepter by Hereditary Succession 314 Years) to whom ye can make Reparation for all the Injuries done to the Family: Agree with thine Adversary quickly whilst thou art in the way with him, lest the Great Judge cast thee into Prison, whence thou shalt not come out 'til thou hast paid the uttermost Farthing. I say, if ye have done justly with this Royal Family in making *Hanover* King, then rejoyce in *Hanover*, and let *Hanover* rejoyce in you: But if not---

The *Whigs* gape for a *Common-wealth*, therefore have weakned the *Monarchy*: And all the rest of the Nation pant after their old *Constitution*, what Friends then has *Hanover* left? And why will ye not hearken to the *Voices* of the *People*? Are they not the *Voice* of God? Free *Voices* unsolicited, and with the hazard of their Lives, not like *Addressees*

made matters of form, where other Men's words are impos'd. and nothing but *Thanks* return'd. This shews not the *Heart*, like *Danger*, which cannot hinder it when full to boyl over. And where there is so much *Smoak*, there must be some *Fire*, which may be stifi'd for a while, but will break out with more violence, when the least *Wind* blows.

I have said. And cannot take leave more properly than in your Lordship's own Words, in your Speech before the House of Lords, which you have Printed, where p. 2. you express your self very pathetically in these Words.

If I could see that I had gone out of the way in that (the Revolution) I should hold my self Unworthy to appear longer, either in this Habit, or in this great Assembly; but would think my self bound to pass away the rest of my Life in Retirement or Solow. There is nothing more certain in Religion, than that we ought to repent of every Sin we have committed; and that we cannot truly repent, unless we repair and restore as far as it is in our power.

Now, My Lord, the Point at present is, *Whether a Prince ought to be excluded merely on account of his Religion?* And if you resolve it in the Negative, then you must confess, that you have gone out of the way. If in the affirmative, then are you oblig'd to give your Reasons for it, to convince others. And 'til then, not to think them *Obstinate, Peevish, or Superstitious*, because they cannot come into your new Measures. I think no Christian can hold this Principle, and therefore that you will never undertake it; but if you do, I hope you will use some other Arguments than calling Men Enemies to the Government, and hunting them into Prisons, &c. This is not *instructing those that oppose themselves, in a Spirit of Love*, as you say excellently in your Sermon, p. 27.

Think not this unworthy an Answer because of the Hand it comes from. I would not involve you in Criminal Correspondence, and I had no other way to come at you, and your Return in the same manner will be most acceptable to me. The Revolution and your Master's Interest require it of you, your own Character, but much more the Account you are soon to give.

I have

I have reduc'd the Matter to one single Point, that of *Religion*; And if that will not do, find another Objection, if you can, against King *James III.*

And since this is all the *Prejudice* (for *Law* or *Reason* there is none) against him, ought we not to lay aside *Prejudices*, in Obedience to the Law of *God* and *Man*, and the Lawful *Oathes* we and our Fore-Fathers have taken? By all which we are oblig'd in the first Place to do *Justice*, and restore his Right to him, and then, using all Lawful means, to leave the rest to *Providence*, which will govern whether we will or not. If you say, you trust to it in the way you go on, I answer, it is not *trusting* but *tempting* God, unless you make out the *Justice* and *Legality* of your ways. And offering *Prayers* to him to prosper your Wickedness, is adding *Blasphemy* to *Rebellion*, and is downright *Atheism*. It would be suspecting our own Cause (having to do with a Man of good Understanding) to doubt of his Conversion, if he were upon the Throne, where with Safety and Honour he might hear what was to be said to him upon the point of *Religion*, which he has promis'd, to render his Enemies without Excuse. But tho' he should never be converted, he would not be less our *King*, and it would be less in his Power to hurt our *Church* or our *Religion*. And we may expect the Blessing of God in the Observance of his Commandments, rather than in the open Breach and Contempt of them: And because we have succeeded for a while to go on with a stiff Neck, and resolve never to return. This, My Lord, you cannot, you will not deny to be your Case, if you prove not clearly that God has made Diversity of *Religion* a Bar to *Government*. And forget not the Case of the *Jews* in *Egypt*, in *Babylon*, and under the *Romans*.

When you have done this, you shall be my *Magnus Apollo*, and ever remembred with the utmost Gratitude and Esteem by

CHAR. LESLIE.

New-Years-Day.
1715.

Wo

Wo to the rebellious Children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin. Is. 30. 1.

They have set up Kings, but not by me; they have made Princes, and I knew it not. Hof. 8. 4.

Behold all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks: walk in the light of your fire, and in the sparks that ye have kindl'd. This shall ye have of mine Hand, ye shall lie down in sorrow. Isa. 30. 11.

Thou art wearied in the greatness of thy way; yet saidst thou not, there is no hope: Thou hast found the Life of thine hand, therefore thou wast not grieved. Isa. 57. 10.

Because of swearing the Land mourneth: Jer. 23. 10.

Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of Men is fully set in them to do evil. Eccles. 8. 11.

